

# **CORE Annual Report 2017**

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## Foreword

2017 marked the first year of a larger generational change at the IFSH and CORE. On 1 October 2017, Prof. Ursula Schröder entered office as Scientific Director of the IFSH, the first female Director of this Institute. A few weeks later, Dr Cornelius Friesendorf was hired as successor to Dr Wolfgang Zellner as Head of CORE. Dr Friesendorf will start on 1 March 2018, will be trained on the job for nine months and take over from Dr Zellner on 1 December 2018.

It fits into the picture that all current PhD students at CORE have completed (or almost completed) their dissertations. Nodira Aminova handed in her study on “Coexistence between the Secular State and Islamist Actors: Barriers to the Secular-Islamic Dialogue in Tajikistan (1997-2014)” in November. Azamjon Isabaev will follow with his work “Foreign and Security Policy of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan towards Afghanistan: Common Structures, Varying Outcomes” in the next couple of weeks. And Esther Somfalvy has already defended her dissertation, titled “Parliamentary Representation in Non-Democracies. How Parliamentarians Matter in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic” at the University of Bremen and has been granted a PhD in political science. Sincere congratulations to all of you!

Central Asia was again a key focus of CORE’s scientific efforts with two dissertations, Anna Kreikemeyer’s project on “Peace Research in Europe and Eurasia”, a dialogue project “Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia” run by Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy, and the organization of the 4<sup>th</sup> Hamburg Central Asia Day titled “Central Asia: Institutional Adaption, Political Continuity?”

The second focus of CORE’s 2017 work was the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions with two projects this year on “The Road to the Charter of Paris: Divergent Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today” and “OSCE Confidence Building in the Economic and Environmental Dimension: Current Opportunities and Constraints”. The reports on these projects will be presented at a side event of the Vienna MC meeting respectively in the Economic and Environmental Committee of the Permanent Council.

Much of what was done in 2017 would not have been possible without the generous support of the German Federal Foreign Office. CORE has profited greatly from this extremely productive relationship. We are very grateful for the financial assistance CORE has received, as well as for the fruitful exchanges we have had with the Foreign Office staff, especially with the OSCE and Council of Europe Division of the Federal Foreign Office and with the Permanent Mission of Germany to the OSCE.

CORE is also grateful to all other donors – the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Austria, Ireland, Serbia, Slovakia and Switzerland, the University of Birmingham and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation – for their valuable contributions to CORE and Network projects, as well as for the many in-depth discussions we enjoyed having with them. We understand this support as our commitment to continue our work with even more engagement.

Wolfgang Zellner  
Head of CORE

## 1. CORE Profile

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), which is part of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), is the only institution specifically dedicated to research on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). It was founded in January 2000 in the presence of German Federal President Johannes Rau and OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubis. CORE is headed by Dr Wolfgang Zellner.

The IFSH, established in 1971 as a civil-law foundation, analyzes threats to peace and international security, following a policy-oriented approach. Currently, the IFSH has about 50 employees. Its director is Prof. Ursula Schröder.

The IFSH's research agenda ranges across questions of European security, arms control, transition processes in Central and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, transnational risks and threats as well as aspects of global governance. From its inception, the IFSH made regular contributions to research on the CSCE/OSCE process. This, in turn, paved the way for the creation of CORE.

CORE operates as a politically independent think tank, combining basic research on the evolution of the OSCE with demand-driven capacity-building projects and teaching. Addressing political actors, the academic community and the interested general public in Germany and abroad, CORE strives to contribute to the OSCE's development with analysis and critique that provide insight into the problems faced by and the opportunities open to the Organization. In support of the OSCE's goals of co-operative security, effective conflict prevention and settlement, democracy and good governance, CORE seeks to contribute to a realistic assessment of the capacities and limitations of the Organization. CORE focuses on the following:

- OSCE activities related to crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and peace building.
- OSCE contributions to a co-operative security regime in Europe with the ultimate goal of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community through, among other strategies, arms control and security dialogue.
- OSCE approaches to addressing transnational risks and threats.
- OSCE efforts to build peace and stability through democratization and good governance.
- The OSCE's institutional evolution and effectiveness.

In line with the OSCE's own priorities, much of CORE's work is concerned with the transition processes and security issues in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. CORE was among the founders of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions in 2013 and has taken on a co-ordinating role in it.

CORE strives to maintain an international outlook. Several CORE staff members are not only qualified academics, but have also acquired practical experience in OSCE field operations and/or field research. In addition, CORE projects frequently involve collaboration with local scholars in the countries and regions being studied. Regular contact with OSCE institutions and field operations keeps CORE's research programme oriented towards politically relevant questions.

## 2. Research Projects

### 2.1. Completed Research Projects

Ongoing research at CORE focuses on a variety of topics. Subjects of research include Russia's engagement within multilateral governmental security frameworks, peace research in Europe and Central Asia, and other projects related to Central Asia.

#### *a) Multilateralism Russian Style – Why and How Russia Engages with Multilateral Governmental Frameworks in the Area of European and Eurasian Security*

The question which lies at the centre of this project is what Russia is doing in security-related, multilateral, international governmental organizations (IGOs). While the relationship between the US and multilateral institutions has been thoroughly examined, comprehensive theory-based studies have been conducted in recent years on the EU's participation in multilateral institutions and even China's engagement with multilateral IGOs has been researched. There is considerably less known about Russia's "multilateralism." This project is built upon the knowledge of state-IGO relations, "multilateralism" and Russian foreign policy studies. It will analyze why Russia chooses certain IGOs to engage with, how it engages with them and what goals it wants to achieve through this engagement. Neoclassical realism will be used to explain variations in Russian foreign policy. The project is conditioned upon funding. Application for funding will be submitted to the German Research Foundation (DFG) in 2018.

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#### *Publications:*

- Kropatcheva, Elena, (accepted, to be published in 2018), Realist Perspectives on Russian Foreign Policy, in: Andrey P. Tsygankov (ed.), Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy, Routledge.
- Kropatcheva, Elena, 2017, Security Dynamics in the Baltic Sea Region Before and After the Ukraine Crisis, in: Andrey Makarychev and Alexandra Yatsyk (eds), Borders in the Baltic Sea Region: Suturing the Ruptures, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 81-100.
- Kropatcheva, Elena, 2017, Russlands Politik gegenüber der OSZE: Erwartungen und Entwicklungen [Russia's Policy towards the OSCE: Expectations and Developments], BPB Dossier OSZE, 22 February, [www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/osze](http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/osze).
- Kropatcheva, Elena, 2016, Russia's Policy towards the Collective Security Treaty Organization: A Genuine Search for Multilateral Partners or Camouflage for Unilateral Ambitions? In: Europe-Asia Studies 68 (9), pp. 1526-1552. doi:10.1080/09668136.2016.1238878.
- Kropatcheva, Elena, 2016, The EU's Policy of Democracy Promotion and Ukraine's Bumpy Path to the Association Agreement – amidst a Major Crisis in Europe, in: Vera Axyonova (ed.), European Engagement under Review: Exporting Values, Rules, and Practices to the Post-Soviet Space, Stuttgart, pp. 11-40.

#### *b) Peace Research in Europe and Eurasia*

Eurasia as a region (post-Soviet space and neighboring countries) has gained momentum on the international agenda. However, the preconditions for peace research in this region are mixed. While there is no lack of studies on conflicts, security and stability, the underlying concepts, the state of research and its dissemination are predominantly Western-dominated and often securitized. Genuine European peace research concepts are poorly received in Eurasia as they are

confronted with political, normative and cultural barriers and different understandings of peace. Researchers from the region have only begun to develop their own approaches with peace research perspectives rooted in their living conditions and political and academic cultures. In view of the current crisis of liberal universalism, European peace research must reflect on how it is perceived and how – if at all – it can reach out to states and societies beyond Europe.

This research and exchange project consists of two parts: First, it studies prospects for peace research in Eurasia and investigates the added value of concepts of hybridity for peace research in view of normative divides and global challenges. Second, it participates in the Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange (EPSE 2017-2019) that aims at sharing, bridging and managing diversities by network building. EPSE builds a platform for student and staff exchange and works out elaborate understandings of Eurasia/intra-Eurasia/Europe relations. Through coordination meetings and intensive workshops, EPSE will develop, refine and evaluate three intensive courses in peace studies related to Eurasia issues. The EPSE network partners are the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø, the American University in Bishkek, the Ilia State University Tbilisi, the Centre for International Studies at Odessa State University, the International Institute for Social Psychology at Kiev State University and IFSH.

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*Publications:*

Kreikemeyer, Anna (accepted, to be published in January 2018), Framing “Everyday Communal Peace” in Jabbor Rasulov, Tajikistan, in: John Heathershaw/Shairbek Juraev/Catherine C. Owen (eds), Conflict Management after Empire in Eurasia: Beyond the Liberal Peace, Rowman & Littlefield, London.

Kreikemeyer, Anna, 2017, Prospects for Peace Research in Central Asia. Between Discourses of Danger, Normative Divides and Global Challenges, Osnabrück (Working Paper, German Foundation Peace Research).

*c) Co-existence between the Secular State and Islamist Actors: Barriers to the Secular-Islamic Dialogue in Tajikistan (1997-2014)*

Since October 2012, Nodira Aminova from Tajikistan, has been working on a PhD thesis, funded by the DAAD (2012-2016). It aims at an in-depth analysis of the dialogue between the secular state and the moderate Islamist actors in Tajikistan since the end of the Tajik Civil War. The main question is: “What constitutes barriers to the secular-Islamic dialogue in Tajikistan?” Methodologically, the study approaches the research question with the help of a congruence method. This method enables one to look at the barriers to the secular-Islamic dialogue from five different conceptual points of view: clash of civilizations, neopatrimonialism, authoritarianism, conflict transformation and a state-society approach. These conceptual frameworks are applied to the case study independently from each other. This allows for an explanation of the barriers to the secular-Islamic dialogue from different perspectives. The aim of this method is to enrich the range of explanations for the failure of the dialogue since the end of the civil war. The thesis can profit from CORE’s ten years of experience in mediating and studying this dialogue in Tajikistan, in particular, and in Central Asia, in general.

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*d) Foreign and Security Policy of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan towards Afghanistan: Common Structures, Varying Outcomes*

In October 2013, Azamjon Isabaev from Uzbekistan started working on a PhD thesis funded by the DAAD. This dissertation aims at a comparative investigation of Tajikistan's and Uzbekistan's policies towards Afghanistan. The research is based on the assumption that these two Central Asian states share an array of commonalities – borders, historical and cultural background and co-ethnicities – with each other. They share the same sort of commonalities (except the Soviet past) vis-à-vis Afghanistan as well. Interestingly, however, despite such commonalities, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan practice rather different policies toward Afghanistan: a more open and closer Tajik-Afghan relationship contrasts with a quite restrictive and closed Uzbek approach to Afghanistan. Hence, the research raises the question of why such variations occur given the basic structures that Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have in common. Using several theories (Neoclassical Realism, Regional Security Complex Theory, Third Worldism and, to some extent, Role Theory), the research carries out two “synergies”: basically, it combines rationalist and constructivist approaches and, analytically, unit- and regional level analyses (without ignoring the international level). Methodologically, the research develops within the “most-similar-system design”, that is, it compares two cases with identical independent, but varying dependent variables. Therefore, it aims to explore certain intervening variables (especially such as ‘perceptions’), which ultimately lead to those variations. Research methods include analysis of primary and secondary literature, as well as semi-structured interviews with local experts. In 2017 the dissertation was supported by a merit-based scholarship (Leistungsstipendium) of the University of Hamburg as well as by the IFSH. The thesis is planned to be submitted by the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 2018.

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### **3. Consultancy Projects**

#### **3.1. Completed Consultancy Projects**

*a) Report on “Taking Stock, Ensuring Continuity. Recommendations and Proposals Submitted during the 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship”*

Commissioned by the OSCE department of the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE produced an internal paper that compiles and systematizes suggestions that were made along the most important strands of discussion in the course of the 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship. The paper is meant to support continuity in the co-operation within the OSCE Troika and with future OSCE Chairmanships. It complements the OSCE Annual Report 2016 and the German OSCE Chairmanship Report. It also continues CORE's earlier work on experiences of successful OSCE Chairmanships.

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b) *Report on “Co-operative Efforts between the OSCE and the Council of Europe”*

Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE produced an internal report on approaches, objectives and forms of co-operation between the OSCE and the Council of Europe. The paper looks into topics for future co-operation between the two organizations that would further substantiate or complement the four priority areas of co-operation that have been the standard items of the joint OSCE/CoE agenda for many years – fighting terrorism, combating human trafficking, promoting the rights of persons belonging to national minorities and promoting tolerance and non-discrimination. The paper examines possible co-operation formats between the central institutions and other bodies of the two organizations, ways to co-operate at the level of field operations and approaches to consider the specific interests of the organizations’ respective key participating and Member States.

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c) *Dialogue project “Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia”*

This project, which was commissioned by the Department for International Co-operation against Terrorism, Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime of the German Federal Foreign Office, analyzed sources of and instruments to prevent religious radicalization in Central Asia with civilian means. The group of project participants included a CORE team with Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy and interlocutors in Moscow, Bishkek and Osh (Kyrgyzstan), Almaty (Kazakhstan) and Dushanbe (Tajikistan). All in all, more than seventy governmental officials from offices overseeing religious affairs, and the security apparatus, scholars, Islamic clerics and NGO representatives from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan were involved in a series of seven roundtables hosted by CORE’s project partners. A number of these partners drew summarizing conclusions and discussed ways to continue their successful co-operation at a final meeting in Almaty in October 2017.

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d) *Assistance to the OSCE Network Study Project “The Road to the Charter of Paris: Divergent Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today”*

CORE provided managerial assistance in co-ordinating and implementing a project of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions titled “The Road to the Charter of Paris: Divergent Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today”, which aimed to contribute to a better mutual understanding of divergent interpretations of the recent past. The project was led by Dr Christian Nünlist of the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich and Prof. Juhana Aunesluoma of the Network for European Studies at the University of Helsinki. An oral history workshop took place in Paris on 5 September 2017, the organization of which was strongly supported by the Institut français des relations internationales (ifri). Participants were historians and eye-witnesses of the drafting process of the Charter of Paris, including Wilhelm Höynck, Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Anatolii Adamishin, John Maresca, Pierre Morel, Jerzy Nowak, Stefan Lehne, Marianne von Grünigen, Markku Reimaa, William H.

Hill, Andrei Zagorski and Barend ter Haar. The draft report was discussed among representatives of the OSCE Network on 6 November 2017 in Vienna. The final report ends with a small set of recommendations and was launched at a side event of the 24<sup>th</sup> OSCE Ministerial Council Meeting in Vienna on 7 December 2017. The project was jointly sponsored by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Austria, Germany, Ireland, Serbia, Slovakia and Switzerland.

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*e) Contribution to the OSCE Network Study Project “OSCE Confidence Building in the Economic and Environmental Dimension: Current Opportunities and Constraints”*

Along with providing managerial assistance, CORE gave expert advice for a project of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions titled “OSCE Confidence Building in the Economic and Environmental Dimension: Current Opportunities and Constraints”. The main context for the discussions under this project was the current state of relations between Russia and the West. The project was led by Prof. Stefan Wolff of the University of Birmingham with Ambassador Philip Remler of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., as Principal Drafter. It embraced brainstorming meetings in Birmingham and Vienna, the elaboration of thirteen thematic input papers – one produced by CORE member Frank Evers – and the drafting of a final report that was launched at the Economic and Environmental Committee of the Permanent Council on 13 December 2017. The project was jointly sponsored by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Austria, Germany, Ireland, Serbia, Slovakia and Switzerland, the University of Birmingham and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation Vienna. The 2017 Austrian OSCE Chairmanship and the OSCE Secretariat made valuable contributions.

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*f) Preparing for the Slovak 2019 OSCE Chairmanship*

In 2017, CORE gave OSCE-related expert advice on different occasions in the context of preparations for the 2019 Slovak OSCE Chairmanship. In particular, a brainstorming seminar on “Considering Previous Experiences. Discussing Slovak Priorities” was conducted by CORE together with the OSCE Chairmanship Task Force of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (SFPA), the OSCE Secretariat and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bratislava in November 2017.

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### **3.2. Current Consultancy Projects**

CORE's ongoing consultancy efforts include the co-ordination of the activities, communications and fund-raising efforts of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and

Academic Institutions and the maintenance of the OSCE Network website, the OSCE depository library and the CORE website.

*a) OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions*

The OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions was launched by a group of 16 institutes in Vienna on 18 June 2013 within the framework of the OSCE Security Days in the presence of the then Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier. The OSCE Network is an autonomous OSCE-related Track II initiative. It is neither an OSCE structure nor is it subordinated to the OSCE or its participating States. It now has 74 member institutions from 40 states. Members of the Network's Steering Committee are Sonja Stojanović Gajić (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy), Ambassador Jim Collins (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Christian Nünlist (Center for Security Studies, ETH Zürich), Andrei Zagorski (Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)), and Wolfgang Zellner (CORE), with the latter being the Network Co-ordinator. He is supported by Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich.

In 2017, the Network implemented two projects: "The Road to the Charter of Paris: Divergent Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today" led by Christian Nünlist of the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich and Juhana Aunesluoma of the Network for European Studies, University of Helsinki, and "OSCE Confidence Building in the Economic and Environmental Dimension: Current Opportunities and Constraints" led by Stefan Wolff from the University of Birmingham with Philip Remler of the Carnegie Foundation as Principal Drafter (for more information, see above).

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*b) OSCE Depository Library and CORE Website*

With the establishment of CORE, an OSCE Depository Library was set up within the IFSH Library with the support of the German Federal Foreign Office. Its current inventory includes CSCE/OSCE documents, both grey and published literature on the OSCE itself, and books with a focus on transformation processes, nation-building, nationalism and majority-minority relationships in the OSCE countries. Since the end of 2016, most of the documents have been available in electronic form. References to literature can be searched in the online catalogue of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Campus Katalog): <https://kataloge.uni-hamburg.de>. The library and the documentation centre of IFSH/CORE compile two different bibliographies on OSCE-relevant publications:

- The bibliography of the OSCE Yearbook, which covers documents from the OSCE itself as well as articles and books on the OSCE.
- A quarterly bibliography with the latest OSCE-related publications:  
[www.ifsh.de/en/core/services-ressources/ausgewaehlte-bibliographie](http://www.ifsh.de/en/core/services-ressources/ausgewaehlte-bibliographie).

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The CORE website ([www.ifsh.de/en/core/profile](http://www.ifsh.de/en/core/profile)) provides constantly updated information on the structure of CORE, its projects, staff, activities, and events. Not only can CORE Working Papers, CORE News (cf. 4.2), and OSCE bibliographies be downloaded, but the individual articles of all the OSCE Yearbooks from 1995 to 2015, of which there are more than 400, are also available to read online or be downloaded in full. A keyword search function is available to help readers find relevant articles ([www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/osce-yearbook](http://www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/osce-yearbook)).

A special page of our website summarizes the results of CORE's research on Central Asia (publications, seminars, and research projects) over the last 15 years. ([www.ifsh.de/en/core/central-asia](http://www.ifsh.de/en/core/central-asia)).

Direct access to the WAO (World Affairs Online) database, which contains more than 4,000 references to OSCE/CSCE-related articles and books (many of them with links to the full online text), assists readers in finding OSCE/CSCE-specific information. The website also contains information on vacancies and internships at CORE.

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## 4. Publications

CORE publications include the production of the OSCE Yearbook, of CORE Working Papers and CORE News.

### 4.1. OSCE Yearbook

The OSCE Yearbook 2017 is the 23<sup>rd</sup> edition of this flagship CORE publication. Surveying the OSCE, its 57 participating States, and comprehensive security in the OSCE area, it contains a wide variety of writings by both experts and practitioners.

The IFSH has published the OSCE Yearbook in English, German, and Russian since 1995. The international co-editors of this publication are Dr Pál Dunay (George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen), Prof. P. Terrence Hopmann (Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC), Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld (Member of the Executive Board of the European Leadership Network, Warsaw), and Prof. Andrei Zagorski (Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow). The editorial staff members are based at the IFSH in Hamburg. Ursel Schlichting, Editor-in-Chief, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, and Michael Weh. In 2016, additional translating and editing work was carried out by Roman Dobrokhотов, Anastasia Raevskaya and Sergei Rastoltsev.

The German and English editions are published by Nomos in Baden-Baden, while the Russian edition is printed by Izdatelstvo "Prava Cheloveka" in Moscow. The German Federal Foreign Office funds the printing of the Yearbook and some of the staff costs associated with its production. Additional funds are earmarked for the distribution of free copies to members of parliaments, foreign ministries, and OSCE institutions, including the Secretariat, and to universities, libraries, and other

interested institutions. The OSCE Yearbook is used for teaching purposes at universities in CIS countries, at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, at the MGIMO, and elsewhere. The 2017 OSCE Yearbook is currently in preparation and will be published in winter 2017/18, with the German edition following in autumn 2018. The Russian edition of the OSCE Yearbook 2016 will also be published in winter 2017/18. The entire texts of all previous editions of the OSCE Yearbook in English and German up to 2015 are available to read or download at the CORE website: [www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/osce-yearbook](http://www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/osce-yearbook).

The OSCE Yearbook 2017 opens with a pair of contributions by P. Terrence Hopmann and Graeme Currie asking how the new disruptive forces, often considered together as “Trump and Brexit” are affecting the multilateralism upon which the entire OSCE depends. Germany’s “Mr OSCE” in 2016, Gernot Erlner, looks back on last year’s German Chairmanship. Closing the chapter on European security, Raimonds Rublovskis describes the state of European security as seen from the Baltic States.

OSCE States in the focus in 2017 include Turkey, whose political situation following the referendum that drastically increased presidential powers is the subject of Olaf Leißé’s contribution. Alena Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira discusses how Belarus has reacted to the Ukraine crisis. Finally, Azamjon Isabaev considers the situation in Uzbekistan following the first peaceful transfer of presidential power since independence.

In the section on conflict prevention and dispute settlement, Walter Kemp provides a key update on the ongoing work of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission in Ukraine. Former Head of the OSCE Mission in Moldova, William H. Hill looks at efforts to revive the Transdnestria conflict settlement process. Further contributions look at the recent work of the OSCE Mission to Skopje and the possibility of reviving peace talks in Cyprus.

Under the heading of comprehensive security, Lia Neukirch reviews the functioning of human rights protection mechanisms in frozen conflict situations; Velimir Radicevic discusses the OSCE’s work in the area of ICT and cyber-security; and, in conclusion, Jenniver Sehring and Esra Buttanni look at the vital environmental work of the OSCE Aarhus Centres 25 years since the signing of the Aarhus Convention.

Turning the spotlight on the Organization itself, former Secretary General (now High Commissioner on National Minorities) Lamberto Zannier looks back on his years in office, while his predecessor as HCNM, Astrid Thors, provides her own retrospective.

Finally, in the section on the OSCE’s external relations and influence, Marietta König and Carolin Poeschke discuss the work of the OSCE Asian Partnership for Co-operation; Benjamin Schaller asks whether the OSCE is the right forum to discuss CSBMs and arms control in the Arctic; and Loïc Simonet gives an exhaustive review of relations between the OSCE and NATO.

This year’s foreword was written by Austria’s Minister for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, Sebastian Kurz.

As always, the OSCE Yearbook includes extensive annexes comprising facts and figures on all 57 participating States, a list of recent conferences, meetings, and events, and a selected bibliography of current literature. The OSCE Yearbook is

intended for politicians, policy- and decision-makers at all levels, OSCE staff, particularly in the OSCE missions, students and researchers, journalists, and the general public. The publisher's goal is to contribute to the political and academic discussion of European security in national, regional, and international contexts and to create links among academic circles, political practice, and the public. Although the Yearbook is not an official OSCE publication, it is strongly supported by the Organization, and particularly by the Secretariat in Vienna.

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## 4.2. Other Publications

### *CORE Working Papers*

Sergi Kapadnadze, Ulrich Kühn, Wolfgang Richter and Wolfgang Zellner published a booklet on "Status-Neutral Security, Confidence-Building and Arms Control Measures in the Georgian Context", Hamburg 2017 (CORE Working Paper 28).

### *CORE News*

The electronic newsletter, CORE News, provides information on current CORE activities and events. It can be downloaded from the CORE website, at: [www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/core-news](http://www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/core-news). Subscriptions, which are free of charge, may be taken out by sending an e-mail to [core@ifsh.de](mailto:core@ifsh.de).

## 5. Teaching

CORE teaching activities in 2017 embraced its staff members' contributions to the postgraduate Master's programme on "Peace and Security Studies" (MPS) and the work of PhD students on their dissertations.

### 5.1. Master of Peace and Security Studies (MPS)

Within the framework of the co-operation network, "Peace Research and Security Policy", and under the supervision of the IFSH, a postgraduate Master's programme on "Peace and Security Studies" (MPS) was initiated at the University of Hamburg in 2002. This programme is both practical and interdisciplinary. It combines structured teaching with a learning-by-doing approach to help students acquire the skills needed to work in relevant fields. The course teaches the methods and findings of peace studies and prepares participants for careers in research or international organizations.

Members of the co-operation network are research and academic institutions: the Faculties of Law, of Business, Economics and Social Sciences, of Humanities, and of Mathematics, Informatics and Natural Sciences at the University of Hamburg, the Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict (IFHV) at the Ruhr University Bochum, the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), the

Berghof Foundation, Berlin, the Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg (IThF), the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College, Hamburg, the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), Heidelberg, the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF), Hamburg, the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg, the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) of the University of Duisburg-Essen, the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg, the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF), Berlin, the Institute for International Policy at the Helmut Schmidt University of the Federal Armed Forces, Hamburg (HSU), the Federal Academy for Security Policy, Berlin (BAKS), Centre of Ethical Education in the Armed Forces (zebis), Hamburg, Austrian Institute for International Affairs (oiip), Vienna, Centre for Peace Studies (CPS), University of Tromsø, the MPS Alumni Association and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) with the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS), the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR<sup>2</sup>) and CORE.

The programme is implemented in close co-operation with the institutions mentioned above. During the second semester, the students are divided among these institutes, where they participate in research and write their Master's theses. The 2016/2017 course had 24 participants from nine countries. Upon completion of the programme, the M.A. diploma is certified by the University of Hamburg.

CORE staff members are currently contributing to the 2017/2018 teaching programme: Anna Kreikemeyer acts as an IFSH focal point for the MPS co-operation with the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø, Norway. Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich offers a course on "Intercultural Communication and Co-operation" and Wolfgang Zellner a seminar on "European Security Policy: OSCE".

## 5.2. PhD Dissertations

In 2017, two PhD students worked on their dissertations at CORE, one of them finished her work. Nodira Aminova completed her dissertation on "Coexistence between the Secular State and Islamist Actors: Barriers to the Secular-Islamic Dialogue in Tajikistan (1997-2014)".

In addition, Esther Somfalvy defended her dissertation titled "Parliamentary Representation in non-Democracies. How Parliamentarians Matter in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic" at the University of Bremen and was granted a PhD in political science.

CORE will continue to support the applications of individual PhD students to various sponsoring bodies.



## 6. Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Conferences

### 6.1. Co-operation and Guests

On 8 – 10 January 2017, Frank Evers had meetings with representatives of the OSCE Secretariat and a number of national delegations to the OSCE in Vienna.

On 25 January 2017, Frank Evers had meetings with representatives of a number of national delegations to the OSCE in Vienna.

On 21 March 2017, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner met with the Slovak OSCE Chairmanship Preparatory Team in Berlin.

On 28 March 2017, Frank Evers took part in a conference on “A New Research Agenda on Eastern Europe”, conducted by the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) in Berlin.

On 11/12 May 2017, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner had meetings with representatives of the OSCE Secretariat and national delegations to the OSCE in Vienna.

On 11/12 May 2017, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner participated in a workshop titled “Rebuilding Trust. Dialogue – Interaction – Crisis Management”, conducted by the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University, in Vienna.

On 23 May 2017, Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy met with representatives of the German Embassy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan).

On 30 May 2017, Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy met with representatives of the German Consulate General in Almaty (Kazakhstan).

On 21 August 2017, Ursel Schlichting, Anna Kreikemeyer, and Esther Somfalvy had a discussion with Aron Mir Haschemi, Deputy Head of the OSCE and Council of Europe Department of the Federal Foreign Office, and a delegation from the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), consisting of Jean P. Froehly (Head of the Director’s Office and Senior Political Advisor), Anita Danka (Human Rights Advisor), and Aleksandar Sekulić (Assistant Programme Officer), on CORE’s key activities and potential topics for future co-operation.

On 6/7 September 2017, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner participated in an international conference on “Making Conventional Arms Control Fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, organized by the German Federal Foreign Office and the European Leadership Network in Berlin.

On 18/19 September 2017, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner met with representatives of the OSCE Secretariat and national delegations to the OSCE in Vienna.

On 10 October 2017, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner met with representatives of the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna.

On 19 October 2017, Anna Kreikemeyer had talks with Prof. Conrad Schetter, Bonn International Centre for Conversion (BICC) and on 24 October with Prof. Gunhild Hogensen Gjorv, Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø on a joint project proposal in 2018.

On 23 October 2017, Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy met with the Deputy Head of the OSCE Programme Office in Astana, Diana Digol, in Almaty (Kazakhstan).

On 25 October 2017, Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer and Arne Seifert met with representatives of the German Consulate General in Almaty (Kazakhstan).

From 4 November to 2 December 2017, cand. phil. Iryna Borovynska, and from 4 November 2017 to 3 February 2018 cand. phil. Victoria Baliuta, both from the Institute for Social Psychology Studies (ISPS) at the Kiev State University, visited CORE in the framework of the Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange Program.

From 13 to 16 November 2017, Frank Evers and Esther Somfalvy met with high-ranking representatives of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

On 27/28 November 2017, Frank Evers met with representatives of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw.

On 1 December 2017, Esther Somfalvy met with High Commissioner Lamberto Zannier and staff members of the HCNM's Office in The Hague.

On 5 December 2017, Anna Kreikemeyer had a talk with cand. phil. Benjamin Schaller, Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø, Norway on co-operation in the framework of the IFSH Master Program on Peace and Security Studies.

On 15 December 2017, Frank Evers, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy contributed to an expert seminar on "Current Security Challenges in Central Asia" conducted by the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre.

## **6.2. Conferences Organized by CORE**

### *a) Round Tables on "Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia", April - October 2017*

In the course of implementing the project "Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia", a CORE team with Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy arranged a series of seven round table meetings with governmental officials, scholars, Islamic clerics and NGO representatives from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan (see also 3.1 Completed Consultancy Projects). These meetings were organized in co-operation with CORE's partner organizations in Moscow, Bishkek and Osh, Almaty and Dushanbe between April and October 2017 and sponsored by the Department for International Co-operation against Terrorism, Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime of the German Federal Foreign Office.

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b) *OSCE Network Oral History Workshop “The Road to the 1990 Charter of Paris”, Paris, 5 September 2017*

In co-operation with the Institut français des relations internationales (ifri), CORE organized the oral history workshop “The Road to the 1990 Charter of Paris” on 5 September 2017 in Paris. The workshop was jointly sponsored by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, and was attended by 27 participants, including OSCE Network representatives, historians and eye-witnesses.

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c) *OSCE Network Workshop “Historical Narratives Workshop”, Vienna, 6 November 2017*

CORE organized the “Historical Narratives Workshop” on 6 November 2017 in Vienna. The workshop was jointly sponsored by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and was attended by 24 participants, including OSCE Network representatives, OSCE officials, and international experts. The draft report of the project “The Road to the Charter of Paris: Divergent Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today” was discussed by the reflection group made up of OSCE Network representatives.

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d) *IFSH Lecture Series “Essentials in Peace & Security”*

On 7 November 2017, Anna Kreikemeyer and Regina Heller co-organized a lecture by Dr Birgit Bräuchler, Monash University in Melbourne on the topic “Do We Need a ‘Cultural Turn’ in Peace Research? Offers from Social Anthropology” with the discussants, Ambassador Dr Günther Bächler, Special Representative of the OSCE for the South Caucasus and Prof. Ursula Schröder, Academic Director of IFSH, in the framework of IFSH lecture series Essentials in Peace & Security.

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e) *4<sup>th</sup> Central Asia Day “Central Asia: Institutional Adaption, Political Continuity?”, Hamburg, 17 November 2017*

On 17 November 2017, Azamjon Isabaev and Esther Somfalvy organized the 4<sup>th</sup> Central Asia day at CORE/ IFSH titled “Central Asia: Institutional Adaption, Political Continuity?” At this conference, researchers from Germany and Central Asia gathered to present their current work on how Central Asia’s governments adjust to domestic and external challenges. Grouped into three thematic panels, participants in

the event discussed different strategies Central Asian regimes employ for increasing their legitimacy and stability. Further presentations focused on political processes within the countries and Central Asia's foreign political position between powerful regional actors. Finally, participants had the opportunity to get acquainted with a new initiative for an interactive regional studies platform.

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### 6.3. Conferences Attended and Lectures Given by CORE Staff

During 2017, CORE staff members attended more than 40 conferences and workshops (see also 6.1 Co-operation and Guests) where they acted as presenters and/or rapporteurs.

*Frank Evers*

- Took part in the OSCE Chairmanship Business Conference "Partnership and Innovation for Sustainable Economies" in Vienna on 25 January 2017.
- Gave a lecture titled "The 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship in Retrospect" at the Society for Security Policy and the German Armed Forces Reservists Association in Bremervörde on 16 February 2017.
- Participated, together with Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy, in a conference on the "Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia", jointly organized by CORE and the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in Moscow on 4/5 April 2017.
- Participated in a workshop on "International Actors' Support to Public Policy Reforms in the South Caucasus: Achievements, Limitations, Prospects", conducted by the South Caucasus Working Group of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin on 25 April 2017.
- Conducted, together with Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy and in co-operation with Kyrgyz and Kazakh partner organizations, a fact-finding tour with five round tables and a series of individual meetings on the subject of "Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia" in Bishkek and Osh (Kyrgyzstan) and Almaty (Kazakhstan) between 21 May and 1 June 2017.
- Delivered a series of lectures on European security issues, together with Graeme Currie, Esther Somfalvy and Wolfgang Zellner, for students from the Al-Farabi University (Almaty, Kazakhstan) during their research visit at the IFSH, Hamburg, on 9/10 June 2017.
- Participated, together with Wolfgang Zellner, in an OSCE Network Workshop on "Confidence Building Measures in the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension" at the University of Birmingham on 10/11 June 2017.
- Participated, together with Wolfgang Zellner, in an OSCE Network oral history workshop on "The Road to the 1990 Charter of Paris" at the Institut français des relations internationales (ifri) in Paris on 5 September 2017.

- Gave a presentation on “15 Years of Århus Centres – A Network to Put Good Environmental Governance into Practice”, at an OSCE side event under the same title, organized during the sixth session of the Meeting of the Parties to the UNECE Århus Convention in Budva (Montenegro) on 14 September 2017.
- Conducted, together with Jeannette Klötzer and Esther Somfalvy and in co-operation with the Centre for Islamic Studies under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan and Tajik NGOs, a fact-finding tour with a round table and a series of individual meetings on “Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia” in Dushanbe (Tajikistan) between 24 and 29 September 2017.
- Participated, together with Wolfgang Zellner, in an OSCE Network workshop on “Confidence Building Measures in the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension” in Vienna on 10 October 2017.
- Conducted, together with Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert, Esther Somfalvy and colleagues from the German-Kazakh University, an international workshop on “Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia” in Almaty (Kazakhstan) on 24 October 2017.
- Contributed, together with Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy, to an expert seminar on current security challenges in Central Asia, organized by the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna on 15 December 2017.

#### *Azamjon Isabaev*

- Participated in a workshop, “Ländertag Zentralasien” [Country-Day Central Asia], organized by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) in Bonn on 19/20 September 2017.
- Gave a presentation on “Central Asia and Afghanistan” at a workshop “Afghanistan – ein sicheres Herkunftsland?” [Afghanistan – a safe country of origin?] at Mariaspring in Bovenden on 19 October 2017.
- Gave a presentation on “Uzbekistan in the Post-Karimov Era: A New Start for Regional Cooperation? Interests, Prospects and Obstacles” at the meeting of the Central Asia Working Group of SWP “A Wind of Change in Central Asia? Continuity and Reform in a Changing Environment” in Berlin on 26 October 2017.
- Chaired a panel on “Political Institutions and Research” at the 4<sup>th</sup> Central Asia Day “Central Asia: Institutional Adaption, Political Continuity?” at IFSH in Hamburg on 17 November 2017.

#### *Anna Kreikemeyer*

- Submitted a handout for discussion on “The Concept of Hybridity” for the second meeting of the Working Group, “No War, No Peace”, of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (HIS) on 6 January 2017.
- Presented a paper on “Everyday Communal Peace and/or Everyday Hybrid Peace in the Fergana Valley?” at the annual conference of the European Peace Research Association (EUPRA) at the Protestant Academy in Villigst, on 16 March 2017.
- Participated in a Central Asia Experts Meeting at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin on 6 April 2017.

- Participated in the first Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange Coordination Meeting at the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø from 18 to 21 April 2017.
- Commented on a PhD project in the framework of a workshop on “Authoritarian Gravity Centres – Central Asia”, organized by Prof. Marianne Kneuer at the University of Hildesheim on 23 August 2017.
- Gave a presentation on “Prospects for Peace Research in Central Asia. Between Discourses of Danger, Normative Divides and Global Challenges” at the first Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange Workshop at Ilia State University in Tbilisi, on 23 October 2017.
- Gave a presentation on “Peace in Europe and Eurasia – Different Perceptions of a Common Goal” at the Hamburg Night of Science at IFSH, on 4 November 2017.
- Acted as a discussant in the panel “Global and Regional Powers in Central Asia” at the 4<sup>th</sup> Central Asia Day of CORE on “Central Asia: Institutional Adaption, Political Continuity?” in Hamburg on 17 November 2017.

*Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich*

- Lectured on “Intercultural Communication and Co-operation” at the Berufsakademie Hamburg on 4 and 11 February 2017.
- Took part in the seminar “Complexity Management” at the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College in Hamburg from 12 to 16 June 2017.
- Gave training on “Intercultural Communication” at the University of Bonn on 24/25 June 2017.
- Took part in the seminar “Change Management” at the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College in Hamburg from 18 to 22 September 2017.
- Gave a block seminar on “Intercultural Communication and Co-operation” at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg on 20/21 October 2017.
- Lectured on “Intercultural Competence” at the University of Hamburg in the winter term 2017/18.
- Participated, together with Wolfgang Zellner, in an OSCE Network Workshop on “Historical Narratives” in Vienna on 6 November 2017.

*Esther Somfalvy*

- Presented a paper on “Parliamentary Representation in non-Democracies. MPs in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic between Serving the People and the Regime” at the DVPW Section “Comparative Politics” Conference 2017 in Tübingen, 15-17 March 2017.

*Wolfgang Zellner*

- Gave a presentation on “Status-Neutral Confidence-Building: Conceptual Framework” at a Wilton Park conference on “Status-Neutral Cooperative Security Measures in the European and South Caucasian Context”, 23-25 January 2017.

- Lectured on the results of the German 2016 OSCE Chairmanship at the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College in Hamburg, 9 March 2017.
- Discussed “Key Issues of International Security” at the editors’ meeting of the “Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik”, Berlin, 21 April 2017.
- Introduced into Working Session II, “Transnational Threats, Multilateral Solutions”, at the conference “Rebuilding Trust. Dialogue – Interaction – Crisis Management” of the Austrian OSCE Chairmanship and the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University, Vienna, 11-13 May 2017.
- Spoke on “Neue Ostpolitik – entspannen, eindämmen, abschrecken?” [New Ostpolitik – Détente, Containment, Deterrence?] on the occasion of the presentation of the „Friedensgutachten 2017“ [Peace Assessment 2017] at the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Berlin, 1 June 2017.
- Presented on “Political and Legal Elements of an Inclusive European Peace Order” at the meeting “Thinking about a Common European Future” of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Warsaw, 6/7 June 2017.
- Discussed “A World in Disorder – Crises Landscapes” at “Hadley’s Salon”, Hamburg, 17 July 2017.
- Participated in the panel “How could a new effective conventional arms control architecture look like?” at the conference “Making Conventional Arms Control Fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, co-organized by the German Federal Foreign Office and the European Leadership Network, Berlin, 7 September 2017.
- Discussed “Dialogue on European Security: A Window of Opportunity” at the “OSCE Focus” conference, co-organized by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and DCAF in Geneva on 13/14 October 2017.

## 7. Personnel and Budget

During 2017, the Head of CORE managed a staff of twelve, which includes seven researchers and a PhD student (cf. Annex 1: CORE staff as of 1 December 2017). In addition, two staff members (one senior researcher/editor, one translator/editor) were responsible for publishing the OSCE Yearbook, one for documentation and information, and one for language editing. The permanent staff is supported by further translators. Over the course of the year, one student completed her internship ([www.ifsh.de/en/teaching/internship](http://www.ifsh.de/en/teaching/internship)).

Less than half of the CORE budget is financed through the IFSH budget. Project financing covers the greater part of the expenditures. In the year 2017, CORE projects – including PhD and OSCE Network projects – were funded by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the University of Birmingham.

## Annex 1: CORE Staff as of 1 December 2017

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**Intern:** Sona Apbasova.



## Annex 2: Publications by CORE Staff Members in 2017

### *Evers, Frank*

- 2017, OSCE Confidence Building in the Economic and Environmental Dimension: Current Opportunities and Constraints, Hamburg 2017 (OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions), at: [www.ifsh.de/core/publikationen](http://www.ifsh.de/core/publikationen) (with Philip Remler et al.).

### *Kreikemeyer, Anna*

- (accepted, to be published in January 2018), Framing “Everyday Communal Peace” in Jabbor Rasulov, Tajikistan, in: John Heathershaw/Shairbek Juraev/Catherine C. Owen (eds), Conflict Management after Empire in Eurasia: beyond the Liberal Peace, Rowman & Littlefield, London.
- 2017, Prospects for Peace Research in Central Asia. Between Discourses of Danger, Normative Divides and Global Challenges, Osnabrück (Working Paper, German Foundation Peace Research).

### *Kropatcheva, Elena*

- (accepted, to be published in 2018), Realist Perspectives on Russian foreign policy, in: Andrey P. Tsygankov (ed.), Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy, Routledge.
- 2017, Security Dynamics in the Baltic Sea Region Before and After the Ukraine Crisis, in: Andrey Makarychev and Alexandra Yatsyk (eds), Borders in the Baltic Sea Region: Suturing the Ruptures, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 81-100.
- 2017, Russlands Politik gegenüber der OSZE: Erwartungen und Entwicklungen [Russia's Policy towards the OSCE: Expectations and Developments], BPB Dossier OSZE, 22 February, [www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/osze](http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/osze).

### *Seifert, Arne*

- 2017, Dialog und Transformation. 25 Jahre OSZE und Zentralasienforschung [Dialogue and Transformation. 25 Years OSCE and Research on Central Asia], Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- 2017, Für einen friedenspolitischen Politikwechsel [For a Policy Change towards Peace], in: Welttrends, no. 124, February 2017, pp. 45-51.

### *Somfalvy, Esther*

- 2017, Parliamentary Representation in non-Democracies. How Parliamentarians Matter in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic, doctoral dissertation, University of Bremen/Jacobs University Bremen (BIGSSS).

### *Zellner, Wolfgang*

- 2017, Der deutsche OSZE-Vorsitz 2016 – eine erste Bilanz [The German 2016 OSCE Chairmanship – A First Assessment], BPB Dossier OSZE, 22 February, [www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/osze](http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/osze).
- 2017, Status-Neutral Security, Confidence-Building and Arms Control Measures in the Georgian Context, Hamburg, (CORE Working Paper 28, with Sergi Kapadnadze, Ulrich Kühn, Wolfgang Richter).
- 2017, Ein Welt in Unordnung [A World in Disorder], in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, 7/2017, pp. 63-70.
- 2017, Old and New Challenges for the OSCE, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2016, Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 33-44.
- 2017, Security Narratives in Europe. A Wide Range of Views (ed.), Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- 2017, German Perceptions of Russian-Western Relations, in: Wolfgang Zellner (ed.), Security Narratives in Europe. A Wide Range of Views (ed.), Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 59-70.
- 2017, Die Europäische Union und die OSZE, in: Werner Weidenfeld/Wolfgang Wessels (eds), Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2017.





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